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The United Socialist Youth of Spain Becomes the Standard Bearer of Unity

THE *Lille Congress of the Young Socialist International* will have written a shameful page in the history of the revolutionary movement among youth. Young Socialists and young anti-fascists throughout the whole world are feeling painfully humiliated.

In order to appraise the consequences of the Congress's decisions, the Congress must be placed in its historical setting, that of the events in which we are living. The danger of war hangs over us; fascism's menace is graver than ever. Since its aggression in Abyssinia, fascism—which has not come up against a sufficiently strong barrier of democratic forces, inadequately united as they are and with their Governments' policy of non-intervention, capitulation, facilitating fascism's successes—has continued its bloody march: Austria, Czechoslovakia, Memel, Spain have all fallen under its domination.

In Spain the struggle is continuing; the Republicans have never surrendered. In Asturias and elsewhere struggles are going on; the movement of protest against the invaders is developing. The United Socialist Youth of Spain has itself confirmed, by its experience of working-class struggles, that established truth that unity is the most efficient weapon for breaking the war-plans of the fascists.

It is under these historical conditions that the Y.S.I. Congress pronounced the exclusion of the United Socialist Youth of Spain, putting in the dock their comrades who have been judged by the military tribunals of Franco. At such a time the Congress has added to the history of the young Socialist movement and the movement of working-class youth a page unworthy of its past and unworthy of its mission.

Those responsible for this ignominy are the leaders of Social-Democracy who take up the position more and more openly of "liquidators" of Marxism—of that science which has made it possible for the nations of the Soviet Union to take power and build Socialism over one-sixth of the earth's surface—and aim at substituting, like *Spaak*, the theory of nationalist socialism, whose resemblance to national-socialism is not confined to theory. These men have lost all confidence in the victory of the working class, and are already passing on to organisation of the defeat of the working class, to capitulation before fascism under the banner of anti-Marxism. Communism seems to have become for them a danger more to be feared than fascism. *Besteiro* declared before the

tribunal: "I consider myself more anti-communist than anti-fascist."

These are the people who, at Zurich, at the Congress of the I.F.T.U., fought against international trade union unity; those who, with Paul Faure, tried to bring about disruption among the Socialist students at the last congress of the International Federation of Socialist Students. Their song is Munich, they nourish the spirit of Munich. They declare cynically that they wish to sit down at the same table with Hitler and Mussolini to organise capitulation, but they reject up to date, every consultation of the three working-class internationals, as the Communist International has proposed, to save peace and liberty. Young Socialists, young anti-fascists who keep their faith in the victory of the working class, the victory of Socialism, will know how to judge those responsible for the exclusion of the most glorious of all the leagues of youth in the world.

It is quite clear that the decisions of the Congress of the Y.S.I.—the suspension of the I.F.S.S. and the exclusion of the U.S.Y. of Spain—have dealt a blow to the unity movement among working-class youth. It adds yet another to the responsibilities of the leaders of the Socialist International, who have brought it about. These arbitrary decisions follow shortly on the splitting of the Young Socialist Guards of Belgium and the suspension of the British Labour League of Youth.

But the damage caused to the youth unity movement is merely superficial. In reality the Congress of the Y.S.I. will raise a powerful wave of unity between young Socialists and young Communists, a unity movement of the anti-fascist youth of the whole world around the United Socialist Youth of Spain. Before the Lille Congress, when the threat of the U.S.Y.'s exclusion was made public, a great protest movement developed, becoming so powerful that at the Congress, after a number of devices had been used to influence it, Nilson, Ollenhauer, Chochoy, Max Norel had to intervene in the most authoritarian manner in order to have the question of the U.S.Y. settled finally and rapidly, and so put an end to the flood of resolutions and protests coming up to the Executive Committee of the Y.S.I. This shows that the exclusion of the U.S.Y. of Spain is a sign of weakness, a sign of the feebleness of the Labour and Socialist International's decrees which, in the face of the powerful will of the Socialist rank and file, has no other means of imposing its defeatist policy except by bureaucratic measures

and administrative decisions. The blow it sought to deal the youth unity movement by the exclusion of the U.S.Y.—an administrative measure—will be without effect for the following fundamental reasons:

In spite of appearances, the unity movement among the working-class youth of the world is after the Lille Congress, stronger than ever. And the authors of this ignominious sanction against the U.S.Y. see their isolation increasing, since young Socialists are very careful not to share in this dishonour.

Secondly, the U.S.Y. which, for several years, has been an example to the anti-fascist youth of the world, has received a new task within the movement since the Lille Congress. This body which remains, in spite of all calumnies, an organisation of youth crowned with the glory of those who died for liberty, has well deserved to be the standard-bearer of unity, the unity of Spanish youth and of the entire working-class youth of the world. To its side there comes the I.F.S.S. (International Federation of Socialist Students) which has also been hit by a bureaucratic measure, but which remains none the less the organisation of the overwhelming majority of Socialist students; the League of Young Socialist Guards of Brussels which carries on the traditions of the Young Socialist Guards, denied by the lackeys of Spaak, and which has already brought with it into the struggle for unity the Young Socialist Guards of Liege.

These Young Socialists, militant for unity, will receive the support of the great *Young Communist International* strong in its many sections comprising tens of thousands of young people who are dynamic, enthusiastic fighters for unity—of this Youth International which, since its foundation, has always struggled to put an end to disruption and which gave fresh expression to its desire for unity in its telegram to the Lille Congress.

In every country, in towns and cities, in the factories, at the work-bench, in the office at the university, Young Socialists and Young Communists will meet and will fight together to wipe out the humiliation dealt to the most gallant organisation of youth in the whole world, and to compel its authors to reverse their decision.

The mounting wave of unity will bring with it all those Young Socialists who desire action and all the forces of anti-fascist youth inspired by the thought: *Unity, Unity, Unity* to conquer fascism and save liberty and peace and to prepare the triumph of the international unity of youth.

International Youth Day—Anti-War Day

By RAYMOND GUYOT

NEXT September the working-class youth of the world will celebrate the **25th International Youth Day**. This day of struggle was born during the imperialist war, in 1915, at a time when millions of men were being exterminated mercilessly for the sake of the imperialist bandits. The advanced youth of several countries then launched an appeal against the imperialist war, addressed to "the Socialist youth of all countries." It said:

"Comrades! Young Socialists! Drunk with blood, the reactionary governments of all countries, supported by the workers' social-patriot leaders, are trying by every violent means to crush the heroic struggle of our comrades and to stifle their demands for peace, inside prison walls. In Germany as in Italy, in Russia as in France, there have been mass arrests of our comrades and friends. The governments of all countries are rivalling each other in the assassination of 'sons of their country' and in the brutal stifling of every movement for peace. Our comrades are making innumerable sacrifices on the altar of liberty. The present state of things demands urgently, imperiously, all aid and support for our comrades in the struggle, for, otherwise, in spite of their courage and their self-sacrifice, the governments will conquer and the last remains of humanism and of liberty will be drowned in a sea of blood..."

The revolutionary who personified this revolt of youth was the hero of the German working class, Karl Liebknecht, who was

to fall a few years later, with Rosa Luxemburg, under the bullets of traitors like Noske and Scheidemann.

The youth of Germany and of France had to confront not only the police-forces of reaction, but above all the ideology of the Socialist parties, which had neglected their international duty and who made their leaders into ministers of those who advocated war to the end.

At this epoch the advanced representatives of working-class youth were already inspired with the revolutionary ideas and the great example of struggle offered by the Russian Bolsheviks against the imperialist war.

While all the parties of the Second International were sinking into social-chauvinism,

"Only the Bolshevik Party remained faithful to the great cause of revolutionary internationalism and firmly adhered to the Marxist position of a resolute struggle against the tsarist autocracy, against the landlords and capitalists, against the imperialist war. From the very outbreak of the war the Bolshevik Party maintained that it had been started, not for the defence of the country but for the seizure of foreign territory, for the spoliation of foreign nations in the interests of the landlords and capitalists, and that the workers must wage a determined war on this war."

(History of the C.P.S.U., p. 163.)

To-day, when the second imperialist war has in fact begun and when a fresh world conflagration may burst out at any moment, a correct Marxist-Leninist orientation among the youth of capitalist countries on the problem of struggle against war gains a decisive importance and must be considered a fundamental task of the Leagues of Young Communists.

The fascist brigands of Berlin, Rome and Tokyo are launching aggression against the nations, destroying their liberties and their national independence. They sow death, they heap up ruins and where they have passed there is nothing to be seen but brutalities comparable to those of the darkest ages of barbarism.

The manoeuvres of fascism's foreign policy does not fail to astonish and even to confuse some sections of youth. It is urgently necessary to pierce this veil hanging before the eyes of working-class youth. The Leagues of Young Communists must carry out this task with precision and with more militant spirit than they have up till now.

To pierce this veil which surrounds the launching of a new imperialist war means putting the masses of the people on guard before the danger of a new Munich, which is now announced by a number of symptoms. If this second compromise by reactionary circles in the bourgeois-democratic countries is made with fascism, it will aggravate seriously the danger of transforming innumerable present international "conflicts" into a world armageddon.

What seems a mystery to certain sections of the youth in the capitalist countries has been pierced and stripped with great power and lucidity by Comrade Stalin in his speech to the 18th Congress of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. All members of the Young Communist International should read and study this vital document and popularise it among the youth which is eager to discover the truth.

The fatal policy of the reactionary bourgeoisie of France and Britain, which is trying to mislead the peoples and to disarm them before fascism so as to crush them under the weight of oppression and savage exploitation is facilitated by the criminal activity of the trotskyist agents of fascism, the capitulationists cowards of all colours who say they "prefer slavery to war," draping themselves in the flag of "total pacifism" against all wars whatsoever. This attitude is found, too, among the leaders of the Second International, such as Paul Faure, general secretary of the Socialist Party of France; they launch the slogan of "conversations with Hitler at any price." A simple person might believe that it is to demand from Hitler the independence of Austria and Czechoslovakia. But Paul Faure thinks that Hitler must be offered raw materials and colonies.

The state of mind of the youth of capitalist countries has also changed considerably in the course of the last months. Until to-day, the youth movement for peace had a wide scope. It found expression, for instance, in the **Second World Youth Congress at New York** (August 1938). Nevertheless, in spite of the millions of young people whom this movement includes, it remains ineffective.

The idea that it was possible to "come to an agreement with fascism," the illusions about the "good intentions" of the French and British governments, the theory of total pacifism against all war, and all sorts of erroneous and dangerous notions which found some echo inside this movement, have put a break to its effective action for the defence of peace.

These voices have not been silenced, but they have become increasingly isolated. The masses of youth are coming closer and closer to the Communist position which we, representatives of the Young Communist International, have defended within this peace movement—a position lucidly stated in these lines from the **History of the C.P.S.U.**

"It was not to every kind of war that the Bolsheviks were opposed. They were only opposed to wars of conquest, imperialist wars. The Bolsheviks held that there are two kinds of war:

(a) Just wars, wars that are not wars of conquest but wars of liberation, waged to defend the people from foreign attack and from attempts to enslave them, or to liberate the people from capitalist slavery, or, lastly, to liberate colonies and dependent countries from the yoke of imperialism; and

(b) unjust wars, wars of conquest, waged to conquer and enslave foreign countries and foreign nations.

Wars of the first kind the Bolsheviks supported. As to wars of the second kind, the Bolsheviks maintained that a resolute struggle must be waged against them to the point of revolution and the overthrow of one's own imperialist government."—(p. 167 f.)

Munich was a break. Many eyes were opened, many illusions were smashed. Thus the young Catholics, whom their leaders had been able to dope with the formula "against fascism and against bolshevism," entered vigorous struggle against fascism. Young pacifists, who, as in England, put their hopes in the League of Nations, took up effective struggle against Chamberlain and against the Munich policy. In Paris, in the Latin Quarter, which was one of the strongholds of reaction, the pro-Munich press is now execrated by the students. In countries like Switzerland and Belgium, youth has been inspired by profoundly anti-fascist feeling.

We are at the beginning of a new era of strength in the youth movement of the capitalist countries, against imperialist war. The Young Communist International has the duty of taking the leadership firmly, educating, organising, bringing into the struggle countless young fighters for peace, under the banner of unity.

It is thus we shall celebrate the 25th anniversary of International Youth Day.

GERMANY PREPARING HITLER'S OVERTHROW FREEDOM PARTY LEADER TELLS STUDENTS

Paris, August 17.

GERMANY'S young people are themselves preparing the way to overthrow Hitler, representatives of three million students meeting in the conference of the World Student Association here, were told to-day when a personal message was received from *Heinrich Mann*, world famous German author and writer.

One of the leaders of the illegal united progressive movement in Germany working underground, the Freedom Party, *Heinrich Mann* urged the students of the rest of the world to give all the help possible to their comrades in Germany.

He gave examples of the way in which the opposition is developing in Germany. In one once famous university in South Germany, Black Guards had to be called in to smash up a meeting of students protesting against the hours and years wasted in listening to false propaganda and time spent on forced marches. The Black Guards were booed, had to "pacify" the students by explaining it was not German culture which was backward but British culture.

"In Germany," declared *Heinrich Mann*, "the most famous classic plays of Germany can no longer be played because they are used as an opportunity by the people for popular demonstrations.

"Youth often inflicts severe defeats on the leaders who are trying to surround them with ignorance and brutality," he continued. "The oppressors of conscience must be silenced. Free conscience is continually reborn in the new generations and the forward march of truth cannot be stopped. A nation which has throughout its existence created living literature possesses moral resources which sooner or later will enable it to regain its liberty."

The Lille Congress and Unity

The Sixth Young Socialist International Congress was held at the end of July and the beginning of August in Lille.

There is in the editorial of WORLD YOUTH REVIEW an estimation of the Congress, whose principal decisions were the exclusion of the United Socialist Youth of Spain and the suspension of the International Federation of Socialist Students.

In the following pages may be read the speech of SANTIAGO CARILLO who refutes all the calumnies of the adversaries of unity; that of TAGUENA, commander of the 12th army, who expresses the anger of all the young combatants at being placed in the dock.

Then there are the appeals of the anti-fascist youth, who rally to the side of the United Socialist Youth for the defence of unity. Then the fine proclamation of the U.S.Y.S. which addresses itself to the young people of the whole world to remedy the injustice of which it is the victim.

The tone of this appeal bears witness to the confidence of the U.S.Y. in the victory of unity.

Speech of Santiago Carillo at the Congress of the Y.S.I.

THE Sixth Congress of the Young Socialist International is taking place, as Comrade Ollenhauer stressed, in a particularly difficult moment for the working class and for the working-class and revolutionary youth throughout the whole world.

For 32 months the Spanish people carried on a heroic armed struggle against fascism, which won it the admiration of the whole world; a struggle which was the most glorious of the combats there have been against fascism and for freedom in modern times.

A number of countries in Europe have lost their freedom. Austria, Albania, Czechoslovakia and Memel are under the yoke of fascism.

To-day the Spanish people has temporarily been defeated by the combined action of the intervention of the fascist armies, the monstrous policy of "non-intervention" which served only the interests of the fascists, and the betrayal of Casado, Besteiro, Wenceslao Carillo, Miaja and Co.

The Congress of the Young Socialist International meets in a situation when young people are asking whether to-morrow they will be mobilised and sent to the battle fronts. Never has the threat to the young people been so great as it is to-day.

Who are responsible for this situation? Who are the enemies of the people, the instigators of war, the worst enemies of youth, of the independence and liberty of the peoples?

The fascists: the fascists alone!

And all the youth throughout the whole world awaits of this Congress decisions which would favour unity to face up to fascism; to save peace, freedom and the Cause of Socialism.

All young people in the world think that above all the divergence which separate Socialists and Communists, above the differences which may exist between workers, the great proletarian family has only one interest, the interest of saving peace, freedom and the cause of Socialism.

The youth of the whole world has learned from the experience of Spain that unity and unity alone can make possible a resistance against the consolidated forces of international fascism, like that realised by the Spanish people.

The youth of the whole world has learned, too, from the example of the *International Brigades*, these brigades where Socialists and Communists fought side by side, these brigades to whose formation you contributed. The young people have learned from the *International Brigades* that unity is the only weapon that makes it possible to carry out great revolutionary tasks.

The young Socialists and Communists of the *International Brigades* could never have thought, when they confronted the enemy, that the example they gave in struggling and dying united was going to be the object of attacks.

The example of the Spanish youth and of the *International Brigades* that the spirit of *Karl Liebknecht* gave to the *International* prove that revolutionary idealism is alive in the hearts of the young workers.

It is in this spirit that we want to see the Socialist Youth International declare itself.

You have received from the Young Communist International a proposal for unity of action against fascism, for freedom and peace. If you want to meet the desires of the young Socialists and of workers the world over, you will give a positive response to this proposal. If you give an affirmative reply you will see developing an immense mobilisation of masses of the youth of the whole world; you will see the young people who to-day are separated from us unite with the working class to give battle to fascism.

Unfortunately, the Congress is going to cause a profound disappointment among young Socialists and revolutionaries throughout the world. Instead of facing courageously the problems of the struggle against fascism, you propose to exclude the organisation which, with exemplary courage for thirty-two months carried on the greatest of the struggles of our time for the ideals of freedom and democracy.

Young Socialists throughout the world will ask themselves how it is possible that the organisation which up to now was the pride of the Y.S.I. should be expelled.

The youth of the world cannot forget that the United Socialist Youth formed, at the beginning of the war in Spain, 70 battalions which covered themselves with glory on the fields of battle. That from these battalions came heroes admired by the youth of the whole world; young men who by their merit occupied important posts in the Republican army, such as Vega, Toral, Taguena, Lt-Colonel, head of the 15th army corps, decorated with the Liberty Medal, who is here in our delegation.

Young people the world over do not forget that the United Socialist Youth gave an example of the greatest heroism, struggling in the first ranks of the defence of Madrid at the moment when anti-fascists throughout the world were asking with anguish whether Madrid would resist the attacks of the invaders.

Young Socialists, young anti-fascists throughout the world cannot forget the heroism of the U.S.Y.

The youth know that the U.S.Y. was in the first ranks of this defence which was a glorious episode in our struggle.

Neither can young Socialists forget the two volunteer Divisions of the U.S.Y. and the 24,000 young heroes who abandoned their homes in one of the most dramatic moments for our country and took up arms and struggled, justifying the confidence that our people and the revolutionary youth of the whole world had placed in them.

Neither do young Socialists forget the immense work achieved by the U.S.Y. in the fields of the war industry and of education.

If the militants of the U.S.Y. who are to-day brought before the military tribunals of Madrid and Barcelona, in face of which they remain undaunted, knew that at this Congress their representatives had also been placed in the dock, they would have a sad idea of the solidarity of the leadership of the Y.S.I.

And, why do they want to drive us out? By what reasons do they try to justify our exclusion?

Evidently they cannot say that they are expelling us because we have fought. It cannot be said that the U.S.Y. has not fought. Neither can it be said that we have betrayed.

They say we are no longer a united youth; that we are a Communist youth. That is false, comrades.

The unity of the United Socialist Youth of Spain not only has not been broken, but, on the contrary, it is to-day stronger than ever. The U.S.Y. is, to-day, in Spain, the organisation of the revolutionary and patriotic youth. Young Republicans and supporters of liberty who remain faithful to the cause of the Spanish people; those who want to carry on the struggle ask to join our illegal organisations.

Do not believe that the U.S.Y. which struggles in Spain is going to be divided. In spite of all the decisions that you can take here, it will remain united in Spain.

In the emigration, young Socialists and young Communists remain united too. Among the 50,000 members of the U.S.Y. who are in the French camps, there are many young Socialists, many young Communists, and many young people who belong to no party. Do you believe these young people are going to turn their backs because you have taken an administrative measure against them?

It is true that a *Casado* group gives itself the name of "Socialist Youth." It is a little group that carries on among the émigrés of Oran the same work that it did in Spain: sabotaging resistance and dividing the people.

The only organisation in which young Spaniards struggle is the U.S.Y., the organisation you want to exclude.

Comrades, it is not between these four walls that the unity of the unified Socialist Youth can be broken. Perhaps you can achieve an easy victory over us, but it will be a pyrrhic victory. The unity of the U.S.Y. will be maintained in spite of all the administrative measures you can take here.

The Administrative Measures you can take against us will only strengthen the unity of the U.S.Y.

It is also said that we have deceived the International, pretending to be Socialists when in reality we were Communists.

That is false comrades!

At the *Amsterdam* meeting, in April, 1937, I declared that the U.S.Y. was a unified organisation of young Socialists and young Communists. That the most capable comrades, the most popular, the most beloved by the youth, were democratically elected to occupy leading posts.

It is clear that there are Communists in the leadership of the U.S.Y. The present leadership of the U.S.Y. is that elected at the *Valencia Conference*, at which *Papanek* was present. It is this leadership which presented itself at Amsterdam, and it was unanimously accepted. There has been no change. There is, therefore, in this connection no reason which might justify our exclusion. What then can be the reasons for our exclusion? That the Republican army has been defeated? Young Socialists would form a sad opinion of the Congress if this were the reason for our exclusion.

It is also said that I myself, being a Socialist in 1937, have become a Communist. But is it possible to exclude an organisation which comprises half a million young people (understand that, half a million) because its general secretary is a Communist?

I was a Communist in 1937 when we were accepted at Amsterdam. I already belonged to the Communist Party and the leaders of the International knew it, as the young Spaniards knew it. And we were nevertheless admitted to the International.

Have we on one single occasion being lacking in loyalty towards the International? At what time? Neither in the actions nor in the documents of the U.S.Y. can be found the slightest demonstration of disloyalty towards the Y.S.I. Have we ever tried to split the International, to break the unity of the International? We have never done any such thing. Quite to the contrary, I remember that at Amsterdam we intervened to

avoid a vote being taken which endangered the unity of the International, and we intervened against the opinion expressed by the French delegation, the same which to-day poses as champion of the unity of the International.

The letter I sent to my father is also used as an argument to justify our exclusion.

Loyalty to the Working Class Must be Placed Above Filial Sentiments

Very well, I admit that I was able to write this letter only at the cost of a painful effort: I was obliged, in order to write it, to stifle my filial sentiments. But, though I have always been a model son, I wrote this letter.

I wrote it because I thought, and my opinion has not changed, that above feelings, above even family ties, that above love of one's father one owes loyalty to the working class. I am always ready to sacrifice my filial sentiments, my most intimate feelings, my life if that is necessary, to this loyalty to the working class.

The consequence of the betrayal of the Junta of Casado, Besteiro and company has been that thousands upon thousands of Spaniards have been delivered up to Franco terror. If I did not denounce that, if I did not denounce my father for having taken part in this crime, I myself should be a traitor, I should betray the cause of our people.

Comrades, there has always been this rule in the Socialist movement, of placing the interests of the working class above the family. And I am convinced that the young rank and file of the International, the young fighters of the International Brigades, agree with me on this.

You have also said that during the war a unified youth might be allowed in the ranks of the Y.S.I., but to-day, when the war is over, there is no longer any reason for this.

It is false. The war goes on in Spain, and since the struggle continues, unity is necessary to the same extent as before and even more. To divide or to try to divide an army in course of battle is a betrayal.

The struggle goes on, Unity is more than ever necessary

The combats which are going on in the Asturias, and the armed conflicts which take place throughout Spain show that a section of the Republican army has not given up its arms. Another part has buried them, waiting for the opportune moment to take them up again. The movement of protest against the invaders and their Francoist accomplices becomes every day more important; it can rapidly assume extremely violent forms.

The peasants refuse to work the land. The workers who are not unemployed sabotage production. The whole people is rising up more vigorously every day against its hangmen.

The victors of to-day are themselves divided. Solchada, Yague, Moscardo, Queipo de Llano, generals who carried on the war with Franco, are to-day the enemies of Franco. The industrial bourgeoisie itself is turning against the invaders which ruin it by striving to reduce Spain to the state of a colony.

And this is precisely the moment, when the struggle has become most acute, that you want to exclude us from the Y.S.I.

How do you expect young Socialists to allow an organisation which shows itself to be the most active in the struggle in the interior of Spain to be expelled from the International? And take notice that it is the bourgeois press itself that is obliged to admit that, under the signature of *Madame Tabouis*, who is as a rule well informed by her relations with official circles.

And you are going to exclude this organisation in order to admit in its place another which exists neither in Spain nor in the emigration.

We expected the Congress to take measures to aid the unified Socialist youth in the struggle it is carrying on in the interior of Spain against fascism under conditions of the most brutal terror. We were expecting you to rise up and demand the right of asylum for the Spanish refugees.

We were waiting for you to rise and demand the right of asylum for the volunteers of the International Brigades, heroes who have every right to our support and to our recognition.

But instead of that, you want to turn us out.

But what you are going to decide here, between these four walls, it will not be so easy to apply elsewhere.

You cannot tear from the hearts of Socialists, still less from the hearts of the youth, their love and admiration for the United Socialist Youth

I should like very much to see how the delegates, who are going to vote for the expulsion of the U.S.Y., are going to explain this decision to the rank and file of young Socialists. I should very much like to see them giving an account of the crime it has committed. We are sure that young Socialists will rise against this unworthy measure, and punish as they deserve those who have taken part in this betrayal.

Comrades, we know that in spite of the administrative measures you may decide here against us, you cannot—as *de Brouckere* said in his letter—"tear from the hearts of Socialists and still less from the hearts of the youth their love and admiration for the united Socialist youth of Spain."

Comrades, do not think we shall take these questions as decided. We do not accept the decision you may take here against us. We shall appeal to all young Socialists to support us and defend us. We are fighters for the cause of unity, we know how to devote our lives to the cause of the unity of the youth.

If you believe it will all be liquidated with your decision, you are making a mistake. The battle is only beginning and this congress is but an incident. We may be defeated here to-day, but we are convinced that the final victory will be won by the youth, achieving its unity.

The U.S.Y. raises its voice outside these walls and speaks to the youth of the whole world.

The U.S.Y. calls, to its aid, to the aid of unity for the struggle against fascism, all young Socialists.

Young Socialists, young anti-fascists of the world, we call you to our aid

The U.S.Y. calls to its help all the forces of unity in the world. We shall continue our struggle in spite of the decisions you may take, convinced of the strength of our cause, sure of our triumph.

Comrades who are going to vote against us, I ask you, before casting your vote, to think of the men who fight in your countries. I ask you to recall the battalions of the heroic International Brigades; think of the Czech, Polish, German, Austrian, British and Scandinavian battalions. I ask you to remember those who struggled in our country, those whose glorious dead would rise in indignation if they could know you had expelled the organisation by whose side they fought during long months.

Comrades, the road you have taken is a dangerous one. You expel the U.S.Y., you expel the Socialist Young Guards, you expel the Labour Youth, you expel the Students. You are in course of liquidating the strength of the International.

With all our strength we rise against this policy. We have faith and confidence in the revolutionary idealism of the working class youth. They will hear our voice and not that of those who weaken the Y.S.I., those who disgrace the heritage of Karl Liebknecht.

We address an appeal to the Socialist youth, to the revolutionary youth of the whole world, asking them to defend with us the united Socialist youth and the unity of youth against fascism and war.

We do not accept the sanction imposed on us by Hansen, Ollenhauer, Chochoy, Marx Norel and Paindaveine. We do

not accept as valid the decision taken by those who have not had a single word to say in condemnation of fascism and who direct their fire against the Communists who, just as the Socialists, are the enemies of fascism.

We shall continue our struggle for unity with the conviction that under our banner we shall win back the Republic in Spain, with the conviction that we shall realise the unity of the youth against fascism for the struggle for Peace, Freedom and the cause of Socialism.

Speech of Taguena at the Congress of the Y.S.I.

COMRADES: I insisted on speaking before the Congress because it seems to me that the fact that people want to exclude from the International a section which groups in its ranks a number of militants equal to two-thirds of the whole of the cadres of the International is a sufficiently grave question to justify my intervention.

Comrades, we, Spanish fighters, are accustomed to speak frankly: calling white, white and black, black.

You protest because there are Communists in the leadership of the United Socialist Youth. Very well! I tell you that our greatest pride, the greatest pride of the U.S.Y. is that, both in its ranks and in its leadership there are young Socialists and young Communists. That is the greatest pride of the United Socialist Youth of Spain.

You have here expressed all your admiration and rendered your homage to the work of the U.S.Y. But, comrades, it is not possible to separate the work of the U.S.Y. from the work of its leadership: it is one and the same thing. And when one speaks of no matter what battle in our war, the work carried out by the leadership of the U.S.Y. must always be mentioned. On every occasion the leadership of the U.S.Y. acted heroically, above all our comrade *Santiago Carillo*, leader of the Spanish Youth, who is loved and admired by all the young, by all the anti-fascist forces that fought in our country. Comrade Lascourain also said that they did not want to raise the problem of exclusion during the war; but that the situation is different to-day.

Very well! I must tell you that unity is more than ever necessary to-day. Franco is directly interested in breaking the unity of the United Socialist Youth, dividing the U.S.Y. To support the splitting of the U.S.Y. is to carry out Franco's policy: it is to support Franco.

As a fighter, I address myself to all the young people who, throughout the world have helped us with their solidarity. I address myself to the heroic fighters of the International Brigades. In the course of the war, I had occasion to command all the forces of the International Brigades. As a fighter to fighters, I address myself to you, international comrades, so that in your countries you will be our greatest support; so that you will give us your help to prevent the measures which might be taken here having repercussions on the U.S.Y.

I address myself to you, comrades of other lands, asking you to be our surest allies in the struggle for unity as you were on the battle-fields of Spain.

If you have any illusion that the measures taken here can have any effect at all on the unity of the United Socialist Youth, you can renounce these illusions. The unity of the U.S.Y. will be maintained, don't believe anything else.

NOTICE

All subscriptions and correspondence for "World Youth Review" should be sent to Central Publications, 16 King Street, London, W.C.2.

Declarations of Solidarity With the United Socialist Youth of Spain

GREAT BRITAIN

THE British youth has launched a far-reaching campaign of protest against the exclusion of the United Socialist Youth of Spain from the Socialist Youth International. Ten thousand leaflets of the appeal of the United Socialist Youth for solidarity and unity have been issued, and large numbers of protests have been sent from youth organisations of all characters to the Paris offices of the Socialist Youth International, 30, rue des Ecoles.

In a letter to the United Socialist Youth of Spain, the University Federation of Labour, the powerful united organisation of *British Socialist Students*, declares:

"Knowing that in spite of your exclusion from the Socialist Youth International, you will continue your magnificent work, we promise you our fullest support in all your efforts, and pledge ourselves to render you more practical aid than we have done hitherto."

A meeting of *London Young Communist League* branch secretaries has passed a resolution expressing its disgust at the expulsion. The National Council of the Young Communists has been recommended to devote the proceeds of the special 1939 International Levy Stamp to the United Socialist Youth of Spain.

BELGIUM

We have received from the *Brussels Federation of the Young Socialist Guards* a long communiqué from which we publish below the following:—

A large delegation of the Brussels Federation of the Young Socialist Guards took part in the meetings and demonstrations organised in Lille on the occasion of the Congress of the Young Socialist International. This delegation came to Lille in order to demonstrate its desire not to let pass any opportunity to liquidate the split of the anti-fascist working-class Youth of Belgium, a split which has been provoked by the majority of the National Committee of the Federation of Young Guards of Belgium which deliberately allows itself to be split by Spaak and the Nationalist-Socialists, the enemies of the working class and splitters of the Belgian Labour Party.

We express our complete solidarity with the glorious, united young Socialists of Spain, and we are happy and proud—we who followed their example in unifying the forces of the young Socialists and Communists in our country—to continue the struggle in order to bring about the triumph of the cause of international unity of the revolutionary Youth, a unity the realisation of which would be a serious blow to the fascist aggressors, the enemies of the liberty and independence of the nations.

In the name of the delegation of the Brussels Federation of the Young Socialist Guards at the Congress in Lille: J. Natan, R. Laurent, Secretaries.

FRANCE

The Young Communists of France have issued an Appeal to the Young Socialists:

The disgrace of such an action directly affects the Youth of France and recoils directly on your heads, young Socialists of France, for it is on our soil that this has taken place and, what is still more serious, the French delegation, headed by Max Norel and Bernard Chochoy, played a prominent part in this act.

Nobody can to-day keep silent without becoming an accomplice in this base act. We are convinced that you will share our indignation.

We certainly understand better than anybody else the loyalty of the Youth to its organisation, and we do not make any appeal to cause a rebellion in your ranks.

But precisely if you love your Socialist Youth International you cannot remain silent while some splitters are persistently

working to destroy it by the exclusion of its best sections. For that is what is now taking place. They have already expelled the British Labour League of Youth and the Brussels Federation of the Young Socialist Guards. They are now about to expel the United Young Socialists of Spain with its 500,000 followers, and the International Federation of Socialist Students which has nearly 10,000 members.

No, the present is not the time for a split. Weighed down by its misfortune and this terrible blow, the U.S.Y.S. is not sinking into despair. It again sets us an example by continuing the struggle and raising higher the flag of unity. The present hour demands unity.

Young Socialists of France, let us unite for peace and liberty.

The Young Communist League of France.

DENMARK

From the appeal of the Y.C.L. of Denmark, to the Young Socialists.

"We realise what the Spanish Youth has given us, and we shall never forget it. H. C. Hansen cannot put forward the slightest excuse for his treason. He cannot assert that he represents the opinion of the Danish Youth by voting at Lille for the exclusion of that Youth section which we most appreciate. We shall not let this blot disgrace the emblem of the Danish working-class Youth."

The appeal concludes with a call to all young people to protest jointly against the dastardly crime committed against the Spanish Youth, "not only out of considerations for the Spanish Youth, but also because such a protest is necessary for the struggle for democracy in our own country and for the liberty of our people."

THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF SOCIALIST STUDENTS PROTESTS AGAINST THE SPLITTING CONGRESS

We have received the following protest from three leaders of the I.F.S.S. delegates to the Congress at Lille:—

Lille, August 1, 1939.

We want to draw the attention of your readers to the attitude of the Executive Committee of the Young Socialist International towards the delegation of the International Federation of Socialist Students at the Congress at Lille, which took place from July 29 to August 2, and protest against it most energetically.

The delegation of the I.F.S.S. was unanimously elected by the Congress of the I.F.S.S., which met in Paris on July 15, 1939. However, when the representative of the I.F.S.S. appeared at the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Young Socialist International, he was informed that his organisation would be treated in just the same way as the group of splitters who had left the I.F.S.S. after having attended its Congress. It is worth while mentioning that the disrupters had agreed to the general resolutions of the Congress of the I.F.S.S. and had taken part in the election of the delegation to the Congress of the Young Socialist International, whilst two of their group were elected as members of the delegation.

We are determined to continue our struggle to obtain recognition of the I.F.S.S. as the sole Student Section really representative of the Y.S.I., to carry on our work inside the I.F.S.S., to strengthen and develop still further the students' movements all over the world, to guide and train them, and by this means win the universities and colleges for the struggle for Socialism and peace.

(Signed): D. SPENCER (General Secretary of the University Labour Federation of Great Britain, Secretary of the I.F.S.S.);

M. AZCARATE (Student Member of the U.S.Y. Spain);

A. MANDRYXS (United Socialist Students of Belgium).

The Unified Socialist Youth of Spain Appeals to Youth of the Whole World

Appeal Issued on August 2, 1939, by the Unified Socialist Youth of Spain at the conclusion of the Congress of the Young Socialist International.

Young Socialists? Young Anti-Fascists of the world!

THE Unified Socialist Youth of Spain asks you to intervene against the decision taken at Lille by the Congress of the Young Socialist International to expel our federation, a decision which is a crime against the unity of the youth of Spain at a moment when such unity is more necessary than ever in order to continue the struggle against Franco and the Italian and German fascist invaders, and at a moment when the most criminal fascist terror is directed against the underground organisations of the U.S.Y.

THE PARTISANS OF CAPITULATION TO FASCISM WERE ABLE TO MAKE ONLY AN ADMINISTRATIVE DECISION

At a moment when, after three years of heroic resistance, the Spanish people has been momentarily defeated by the fascist invaders, aided by the policy of "non-intervention" and the criminal machinations of the Trotskyist-fascist agents, as well as by Casadoist treachery; at a moment when the most frightful terror is raging against the masses of the Spanish people, and thousands of young workers, young peasants, students, and young girls, are daily being shot by the executioners of Hitler and Mussolini; Hansen, Ollenhauer, Chochoy, Max Norel—those leaders of the Young Socialist International who intrigued in order to obtain the expulsion of the Spanish U.S.Y.—are by their attitude facilitating the task of fascism which desires to weaken the fighting front of the Spanish youth struggling for liberty and independence.

At the moment when the fascist aggressors have callously invaded free countries and are threatening to extend the scene of war to all continents and all countries; at the moment when the forces of the toiling youth of the entire world should form one single bloc against war and fascism in order to defend their liberties and their economic and cultural rights, certain leaders of the Y.S.I.—instead of following the example of the U.S.Y. of Spain which shows the path of struggle against fascism—have rewarded the sacrifice and heroism of the Spanish youth by an administrative measure which has aroused the indignation of the young Socialists, of all the young anti-fascists of the world, and which has created obstacles to international unity of action of the youth—a unity which is indispensable in order to face up to the dangers which are threatening the younger generation the world over.

Young Socialists! Young anti-fascists of the whole world! The Unified Socialist Youth of Spain calls upon you for aid. We are speaking in the name of the young people who, during three years, have given such a glorious example of valour in the struggle for that cause which concerns the youth of all the world; in the name of those young people who to-day are continuing their efforts in Spain under the most difficult conditions, constantly defying the bestial cruelty of the hangmen; in the name of the young people in the concentration camps who, in spite of everything, preserve their confidence in victory; in the name of all those who have struggled and are continuing to struggle against the destructive forces of fascism, the Unified Socialist Youth of Spain, that great organisation of the young Socialists and Communists and of all young workers, calls you to action against the arbitrary resolution taken at Lille unknown to the young Socialists, by means of which certain leaders of the Y.S.I. hope to separate us from you.

THE U.S.Y. OF SPAIN WILL NOT ACKNOWLEDGE THIS DECISION ADOPTED BY THOSE WHOM THE YOUTH ACCUSES

The Spanish Unified Socialist Youth does not acknowledge the resolution passed at the Lille Congress! We know that the sentiment towards us of the anti-fascist youth of the world does not correspond to this resolution. Young Socialists and Communists of all countries have fought side by side with us in the International Brigade, and together with us have learned to

appreciate the value of unity of the working-class and anti-fascist youth in the struggle against fascism. The leaders who took part in the manoeuvre of expelling the U.S.Y. imagine that an administrative measure is sufficient to break the unity of the Spanish youth. But this unity was forged in the fire of the armed struggle against fascism, the struggle against the terror of Franco, Hitler and Mussolini, and it is quite natural that the bureaucratic decisions of Chochoy, Max Norel, Hansen, and Ollenhauer, whose action was taken without the knowledge of the Socialist youth, cannot break it. The young Spaniards who are united in the U.S.Y. will not break their unity under any pretext, because the struggle which is continuing in Spain necessitates such unity.

In the mountains of Asturias and Andalusia, hundreds of partisans are maintaining an armed struggle against the invaders; in Madrid, Barcelona and Seville, young workers and students are pursuing the struggle against Franco; in Estremadura, Galicia and Castille, young peasants are cherishing in their hearts the aim of an early revenge. Under such conditions, how can anyone who claims allegiance to Socialism try to break the unity of the Spanish youth?

Young Socialists, when they tell you that it is now possible to divide the U.S.Y. of Spain because the war is over, they are trying to deceive you cruelly and they are betraying the interests of the Spanish people.

No! The struggle continues, and in order to win it the Spanish youth needs unity more than ever.

YOUNG SOCIALISTS, YOUNG ANTI-FASCISTS OF THE WORLD, STAND SHOULDER TO SHOULDER AROUND THE U.S.Y.! BRING ABOUT THE REVOCATION OF THE LILLE DECISION!

But the leaders of the Y.S.I. who brought about this decision were not only trying to break the unity of the U.S.Y. of Spain, but also thus broke the unity of the Y.S.I. itself. The Labour League of Youth of Great Britain, the Socialist Young Guard of Brussels, the International Federation of Socialist Students, have also been affected by the disruptionist measures adopted by the same leaders. Only those who wish to destroy the strength which the Y.S.I. possesses among the masses of youth, only those who wish to weaken the struggle of the young Socialists the world over against Fascism, only the Capitulationists, could exclude from the Y.S. its most powerful and militant sections.

We appeal to the young Socialists, to all young anti-fascists the world over, that they come to the aid of the U.S.Y. of Spain and give it all their support in order to strengthen its unity and to realise the unity of the entire patriotic and revolutionary youth of Spain in the struggle against the fascist invaders.

We call upon all young Socialists and young anti-fascists to act so as to achieve international unity of action of the working and anti-fascist youth, a unity which is essential for saving peace and liberty.

The young Spanish fighters call upon the young Socialists to mobilise our forces throughout the whole world in order to secure the revocation of the decision of the Lille Congress which excluded the U.S.Y. of Spain from the ranks of the Y.S.I.

The young Spanish fighters call upon all young Socialists and anti-fascists to reply to the campaign of calumny and insult which the capitulationists have launched against the U.S.Y. of Spain and its leaders in order to hide their vile tactics of expelling our federation from the Y.S.I.

The Unified Socialist Youth of Spain continues to be united. It lives in the hearts of thousands of young people who, in Spain and in emigration, are fighting against fascism, side by side with their brothers of the whole world. It lives in the hearts of the young people who fought Hitler and Mussolini in the International Brigade. It lives in the hearts of those young people who, in Germany and Italy, are now suffering the consequence of not having achieved their unity. It lives in the hearts of the toiling youth of the democratic countries, who do not wish to lose their liberty.

Nothing and nobody can break the unity of the U.S.Y. of Spain, which is a model for the youth of all the world. After

the Lille decision, the U.S.Y. of Spain grasps yet more strongly and vigorously the banner of unity of the working and anti-fascist youth, and raises it higher than ever.

The U.S.Y. of Spain is redoubling the strength of its struggle for unity and takes its place in the vanguard of all the forces of unity of youth, until the united front of youth against war and fascism has been attained.

NOTHING AND NOBODY CAN BREAK THE UNITY OF THE U.S.Y. OF SPAIN

Nothing and nobody will be able to separate us from you, young Socialists and anti-fascists who, in your various countries, have helped us and who are still helping us in our struggle against the invaders.

Nothing and nobody will be able to prevent the development of unity movement of the working youth of the world.

To action, to rescind the shameful decisions of the Lille Congress against the Spanish youth!

Long live the Unified Socialist Youth of Spain!

Long live the unity of the toiling and anti-fascist youth of the world against fascism and war!

The Unity of Socialist and Communist Students

It has been Broken neither at the Second Congress of the Student Alliance for Socialism nor at the Congress of the Young Socialist International.

By Ferri

On July 16, 17 and 18 there took place in Paris the Second Congress of the International Student Alliance for Socialism.

This organisation, which was founded two years ago on the basis of a unity pact between the International Federation of Socialist Students and the International Commission of Communist Students, has brought together the Socialist, Communist and Progressive students of nearly all European countries, and is extending its influence in America and the colonial countries.

The representatives of some twenty countries took part in this Congress, the importance of which has been noteworthy, both because of the high level of the discussions and of the desire for unity, the latter having been ably defended against the unworthy manoeuvres of a small group of disreputables.

The attempt at scission, made by a minority of the student organisations represented, while it did not succeed—thus frustrating the intentions of a few petty politicians—nevertheless did make plain the fact that the opponents of unity will not be hindered by any considerations of the general interest in pursuing their base policy of disunity.

The tactics of the disruptionist elements at the Congress were conspicuous by their crudity, their incoherence, and their contempt for responsibility and truth.

Just previous to the opening of the Alliance's Congress, there took place the Congress of the International Federation of Socialist Students (I.F.S.S.). We have not yet received a full report of this congress, but we are aware of the various texts of the adopted resolutions. They are as follows:

1. A message of sympathy and solidarity with the Spanish students who are victims of Franco repression. This was unanimously adopted.

2. A resolution of solidarity with the Spanish Unified Socialist Youth which states that "the I.F.S.S. is proud to belong to the same International as the Unified Socialist Youth of Spain." The resolution also affirms its decision to oppose "any attempt to exclude the Spanish U.S.Y. from the Young Socialist International." This was adopted by 26 votes with 13 abstentions.

3. A message of greeting to the Congress of the Alliance with a "wish for the best results of its labours." Unanimously approved.

4. A general resolution, also animated by a recognition of the necessity for political unity, which asserts that "unity can

release and ensure the success of action against the fascist peril." This also was unanimously adopted.

These texts show that the Congress of the I.F.S.S. was animated by the spirit of unity, and one can hardly believe that the signatories of these documents should deny on the following day that which they had approved but a few hours before.

At the opening session of the Alliance Congress not a single voice was raised against unity. On the contrary, the secretary of the French Socialist students highly praised, at this session, co-operation between Socialist and Communist students. He expressed the conviction that "the Congress of the Alliance will proceed in a spirit of the most fraternal co-operation."

The move against unity only became apparent during the afternoon session. After the report of the Alliance secretary, the Congress heard a speech by a French Socialist student who, for three-quarters of an hour continued to attack the French Communist Party, the Communist International and the U.S.S.R. It was the Socialist students present who were the first to be amazed at this interposition, asking themselves, with ample justification, what real purpose all this served.

Their amazement was swiftly transformed into indignation, however, when, at the close of this student's speech, the French, Dutch and Danish Socialist students' delegations stated that co-operation with the Communists was impossible, and that they would leave the Congress and the Alliance.

But as the majority of the Socialist delegations present asked, how could they leave the Alliance even before the discussions had taken place?

Both the British and Spanish Socialist students' representatives rose to protest against this attempt at division and to advise the disrupters to discontinue their drive, which would only assist the common enemy.

However, they had made their decision—where? and by whose orders?—and so the French, Dutch and Danish Socialist delegations—who were joined the following day by one Swedish delegate—left the Congress hall.

There can be no doubt but that this action was decided at the last moment by some more highly-placed enemy of unity, of whom these unfortunates allowed themselves to be made the tools.

The majority of the Socialist delegations at the Congress did not follow the lead of the disruptionists. Thus, this attempt to split the Socialist and Communist students resulted in a division among the Socialist students themselves. On one side, the anti-unity forces: France, Holland, Denmark, Sweden. And, on the other, the pro-unity forces: Great Britain, Switzerland, Belgium, Spain, Norway and Bulgaria.

Following on this failure of their tactics within the Alliance, the disruptionists directed their attacks against the majority of the I.F.S.S. They chose to forget the Congress of the I.F.S.S., in which they had taken part but two days previously. They chose to forget that, at this Congress, they had adopted certain resolutions, had elected a leadership and also a delegation to the Congress of the Young Socialist International.

Furthermore, they had the effrontery to send a statement to the *Populaire* (French Socialist daily) declaring that the Socialist students who had remained in the Alliance were automatically excluded from the I.F.S.S. Incidentally, this statement made mention of an alleged student organisation of the Belgian Labour Party and of another organisation of students appertaining to the Spanish Socialist Party, neither of which student organisations exists, and which were supposed to have supported the disruptionists. Thus, to trickery do they add falsehood. The general secretary of the I.F.S.S. replied to this statement with a correction which was published in *Humanité*, but which the *Populaire* refused to print.

Such are the facts. The first lesson which we may derive from them is that the enemies of unity are not only working against the Communists but against all those who desire unity, and that, in the course of their sinister labours of disruption, they will not even spare their comrades who belong to their own party and their own international.

The second lesson is that, in spite of this ignoble attempt at division, the idea of unity is yet further strengthened among sincere Socialists who have at heart the broad interests of the anti-fascist movement, and who do not share the belief that fascism is invincible and that therefore we must capitulate before its strength.

It may definitely be stated that the most advanced section of the student youth, at the grave and historic present period, realises the grave perils threatening the peoples in general and the youth in particular.

The Second Congress of the International Student Alliance for Socialism has given a striking demonstration of the capacity for close analysis possessed by the students who stand for Socialism.

Contrasted with the remarkable results of the Second Congress, the efforts of the disruptionists appear sterile indeed, while the future of the movement can only be considered with strong hope and optimism.

Message from Professor Einstein and other Prominent Persons

A message from *Professor Albert Einstein*, world famous scientist, at present attached to the American University of Princeton, was received by the International Student Conference in Paris.

Dr. Einstein said that he was happy to learn that the students are attempting to make a stand "for that spiritual and political freedom upon the preservation of which depends future intellectual advance."

A large number of messages from prominent educationalists and men of letters have been received by this conference on "Democracy and the Nation," including *Dr. Van Den Dungen*, Rector of the University of Brussels, *Dr. Rodolfo Mendez Penato*, Vice-Rector of the University of Havana, Cuba, *Professor Sheldon Glueck*, Harvard Law School, *Professor Rene Cassin*, Paris Law Faculty, and President of the Federation of Ex-Servicemen.

"May this conference have results helpful to the cause of peace and culture and make clear the fact that the youth of the world stands on the side of intellect, culture and freedom against the enemies of the human spirit, even though at the moment, the powers of barbarism and falsehood may seem to triumph," writes *Thomas Mann*, famous German author.

The Chinese Ambassador to France, *Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo* has also sent a message: "Although certain states calling themselves 'realists' pretend to deny," he writes, "the principles of order, security and peace, these principles are nevertheless among the most noble products of civilisation and must remain the basis of relations between the members of the Great Community of Mankind. My contacts with the youth of all countries, in whom I discover the same interest and the same universal aspiration for a new and better organised international order, only helps to confirm me in my belief."

From Mexico, *Dr. Gustavo Baz*, Rector of the National University, writes: "I believe firmly that the students should be in the forefront of the struggle to maintain the peace of the world and that their voice should be raised above all others in calling for liberty and justice for the oppressed."

"The watchword of your organisation, 'For Peace, Liberty and Culture' is the most noble expression of the ideals which animate the students of the world. I send my cordial greetings to the World Student Association and the expression of my deepest hopes for the outcome and complete success of the work of your conference."

Aid For Refugee Students

Paris, August 19.

Refugee students of Spain, Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, and other countries, victims of fascism, may find themselves enabled to continue their studies in the universities of the democratic countries as the result of the efforts of their fellow students in those countries.

Decisions to approach the Governments of the democratic countries to provide facilities for these refugee students were

taken at the Third International Conference of the World Student Association.

In the plenary session, the last day of the Conference, delegates decided to approach the Governments to:

take Spanish refugees from the concentration camps and provide places for them in the universities of the democratic countries;

provide refugee students with identity cards and certificates of domicile in order that they can continue their studies; and increase the number of scholarships at present available for students from Central European and other countries, and also assure that refugee students obtain these scholarships and not the nominees of the fascist Governments.

Jewish students expelled and refugees from their own countries are also to be given special assistance by the general aid movement, which aims at involving as large a number of student organisations in it as possible.

A twelve-point programme was elaborated at the Conference, listing the concrete points of aid and the methods of operating them, including boycott and collections.

The well-known French troupe of Indonesian Dancers offered to give their services free to help the refugees. An International Students' Day is to be held.

Special notice was given to the decision of the International Student Service to extend its refugee work and collaborate with other organisations, and proposals are to be made both on an international and national scale for joint action.

The plenary session of the conference also issued solidarity and unity declarations in support of Anglo-Arabian friendship, Franco-Syrian solidarity, Dutch-Indonesian friendship. A declaration was made by the states of the Little Entente—Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia—pledging help for Czechoslovakia and supporting the statement issued by the delegates of the Balkan States.

NAZI PENETRATION OF UNIVERSITIES PROVED

Startling proof of the allegation of the World Student Association that the Nazis are attempting to penetrate the universities of the democracies comes from America.

President *John Sherman*, of Tampa University, provided concrete evidence of the attempts of *Baron Edgar Spiegel*, the German consul in New Orleans to influence students and faculty life at the universities of Tulane and Tampa.

Giving evidence before the *Dies Committee*, on August 22 last, President Sherman declared that the Nazi Baron had tried to influence his students through gifts of Nazi racial and anti-semitic literature.

The head of the University revealed also that he had been subjected to threats by von Spiegel that he would "regret" having Jewish students at the university and Jewish trustees. The Baron also attempted to have a professor of German dismissed because he was a foe of the Nazi regime, on the trumped up charge that he was not an "adequate" teacher.

Professor Sherman also declared that the head of another university, Tulane, had told him that he did not like the way Baron von Spiegel "snuggled up" to his staff, and expressed dislike of the Consul's activities among the students.

He also declared that he believed Baron von Spiegel was responsible for the attacks against Professor Otto Krause, a professor of German, native of Vienna. Anonymous persons had insinuated that the Professor did not know correct German.

Later the Baron himself admitted his activities in providing books, declaring that many colleges and universities had accepted the books.

The Conference of the World Student Association, just concluded in Paris, after a five-day meeting, revealed details of the Nazi measures employed to influence and obtain positions for Nazis in democratic universities.

The Nazis maintain a special "Student Exchange" service which aims at enticing students to Germany in order to influence them, and also provide, in exchange, Nazi students to visit other countries.

The organisation is controlled by highly placed Nazi Guards, and is under the control of a former German military intelligence officer, General von Massow.

From the Two Hemispheres

The Position of the Working Youth of Great Britain

By Cecil Thomson

THE British Trades Union Congress this year will discuss how they can intensify the work of the trade unions to win youth to their ranks and press forward to win the demands outlined in the Youth Charter.

Few of the problems facing the trade union movement require more attention than that of the present conditions and future of the young people in industry. Over the past period there has been a big increase in the activity of youth themselves, in the trade unions and factories and in the progressive youth movement, and by many other sections of the people. But despite this increased activity no real improvements in youth conditions have been made and all the big problems with which youth are faced still remain unsolved.

Not only do they remain unsolved but they are being further aggravated by the steady deterioration which is taking place. Between 1923 and 1938 there was a decline in the number employed in Coal-Mining of approximately 35 per cent; Cotton, approximately 44 per cent; Woollen and Worsted approximately 35 per cent. During this period there was a decline in the percentage of youth employed in all of these industries.

There was also a rapid growth in the numbers employed in several industries during this same period. In the Distributive Trades the increase was approximately 60 per cent; Miscellaneous Services (which includes Entertainments, Sports, Hotel Services, Laundries, Dyeing and Dry Cleaning, Professional Services), approximately 80 per cent; Building approximately 50 per cent. There was also a considerable increase in a number of industries which employ a large proportion of youth labour, such as, Electrical Cable and Apparatus, Cycles, Print, Miscellaneous Metal.

In 1933 the Report of the Juvenile Advisory Committee mentioned that the basic industries (i.e. Coal, Cotton and Woollen and Worsted) no longer offered progressive employment for large numbers of youth.

The same is true of the expanding industries. In the Distributive Trades there is approximately one junior to every adult. The percentage of youth in the industry has steadily increased between 1923 and 1938. Over the long period, the employers, to reduce labour costs, pursued a policy of replacing adult labour by youth labour, but between 1936 and 1938 the trend has been the replacement of male by female labour. During this period (i.e. 1936-38) there was a decrease of 15,000 in the number of males employed in the industry over 18 years of age and 6,000 in the number of males under 18 years employed. But during the corresponding period there was an increase of 54,000 females and the percentage of youth in the industry as a whole increased. In the Building industry there has been a very big decline in apprenticeship despite the expansion in the numbers employed, and in 1937-38 the number of adults increased while the number of youth decreased.

It is not possible to deal with all the industries in detail here but the position of youth labour in the expanding industries was summed up very clearly by John Gollan in his book *Youth in British Industry* :—

"An analysis of the industries shows the following growth; first, in industries noted for their blind-alley and parasitic character; second, in apprenticeship industries where apprenticeship is declining (Building, Print), and where unemployment is high (Building); third, a growth of mass production factories where youth has little or no future (Electrical, Motors, Miscellaneous Metal); and last in industries that employ few youth (Trams, Buses and Road Transport). The conclusion to be drawn, therefore, is that the growth in numbers in industries in the past few years does not help the position of youth, but only tends to deepen and aggravate the problems of youth in industry, and make for a consequent worsening of the unemployment position."

At the present time we are passing through a period of so-called prosperity, due to the increased activities in the war industries, in which unemployment among youth is at a very low ebb compared with previous years.

The number of unemployed between 18 and 25 years has dropped from 338,548 in February, 1938, to 264,729 in May, 1939. The number of males in this age group has dropped from 214,183 to 170,494 during the corresponding period. Since then the total number of unemployed has dropped by more than 100,000 but no specific figures are available for the 18 to 25 age group.

In addition to all this 35,000 lads have been taken out of industry under the Military Training Act and within the next few months this figure will rise to at least 100,000. Another factor which has to be taken into consideration is the numbers of young people who will be kept out of industry as a result of the operation of the section of the Education Act raising the school-leaving age to 15 years in September this year. No figures are available and it is not possible to estimate this because of the differences in the operation of the act in the various areas, but it will account for a considerable number of youth who would normally have passed into industry next month.

But a period such as this does not represent any marked improvements in the conditions of the young people in industry. It only temporarily obscures the fundamental difficulties facing youth, difficulties which will burst forth in an even sharper way than they have previously expressed themselves when this period of so-called prosperity comes to an end.

Blind-alley still remains the chief characteristic of all industries. Young people are going into industries in which the possibilities of getting adult jobs at decent wages are very remote.

Nothing is being done in this period to regulate the numbers of youth to adults in the various industries.

There is no marked improvements in the numbers attending technical schools and evening schools for training or re-training, because the jobs into which youth are going in the main are of an unskilled character or only semi-skilled. Hours are being lengthened, as in the case of the exemptions granted to some employers to work young people for 48 hours instead of 44 as prescribed by the Factories Act. Cases were reported by the Factory Inspector where employers were found to have been breaking the acts and when taken to court the cases were dismissed. The reasons given were "that the lads were said to have been willing to work these hours and that the work was of national importance." There were 433 convictions for violations of the Factories Act in connection with the hours of young persons under 18 years. But the total amount of fines imposed was only £394 18s. 3d. So that evading the law almost becomes a paying proposition for the employers who can make more profits out of the extra hours the young people work than they are likely to have to pay in fines.

Long hours and low wages still remain the general rule despite the increased profits being made by the employers. Evidence presented at the Hearing into Youth Conditions early this year showed that the average wage of 489 males in one completed batch of questionnaires was 28s. 7d. and that of 325 females was 25s. 1d. So that we can say despite the apparent improvement in the employment position, all the problems and difficulties with which youth are faced still remain.

The employers have chosen the present time for further attacks on the conditions of youth. These attacks will be intensified in the immediate period ahead.

But there is also another side to the picture. The present period presents the trade unions and the youth in industry with very favourable opportunities for advances being made. Therefore, the Trades Union Congress, meeting in September, bears

a heavy responsibility to the young people of this country. Their decision to "culminate" the campaign they started "to win two million new young members to the trade unions and win the demands set out in the Youth Charter" at a period when the employers and the Government are on the offensive against the youth, must be reversed by the delegates.

The time is opportune for launching a national campaign around the demands of youth in the different industries, co-ordinated by the T.U.C., based on the demands set out in the T.U.C. Youth Charter. The most important of these are, a proper ratio of youth to adult labour to ensure skilled adult jobs at adult rates; Regular wage for age scale and systematic promotion; No sacking when the time comes for adult jobs and wages; a system of graduated and adequate training to equip youth for the future; and last, equal pay for equal work. Only by the achievement of these main things can we ensure that an appreciable change is made in the present conditions and future of youth, and that we offset the disastrous effects of the slump which must follow the present period of so-called prosperity.

The Ninth Congress of the Young Communist League of the U.S.A.

By Joseph Starobin

AS the delegates began to arrive, we realised that this was really going to be some congress. Not a hole-in-corner gathering, nor yet a confused palaver for the adoption of a few resolutions and slogans, but a demonstration of strength and enthusiasm on the part of young people working for the cause of truth.

The delegates came from all quarters, from 27 states and from twice as many cities and towns, utilising the most varied methods of transport; private cars, coaches, and even airplanes.

After a magnificent festival attended by 20,000 people, the Congress of the Young Communist League of the United States commenced its labours. First came the election of commissions, and then the two principal reports: those of Carl Ross and Henry Winston.

"How can it be possible," cried *Carl Ross*, secretary of the League, "that in a country so rich and powerful youth is assured neither of the present nor the future? Why have the young people had to endure such hard times since the last ten years? Who is responsible for this economic catastrophe?"

And the Congress particularly applauded Carl Ross's words when he said:

"I propose that this Congress call upon William Green, of the American Federation of Labour, John Lewis, of the Committee on Industrial Organisation, and the Railroad Brotherhood, for a rebirth of that spirit which, 100 years ago, made the labour movement the principal champion of free education, and that they unite with the youth in the struggle to provide work for all young people."

After this came the report of *Henry Winston*, a big Negro from Kansas, whose grand-parents were slaves on a Mississippi sugar-cane plantation. He spoke in part as follows:

"What moral code can the youth derive from the example of the idle rich, the so-called pillars of society? For example, take Mrs. Cooper Hewitt whose sole accomplishment on this earth is the fact that she has been married five times. And there are many others whose names are known solely because of exploits of this character. . ."

"It is necessary that the youth resist, that it be morally powerful. (*Applause: the delegates rising.*) The youth must resist the influence of this system of disintegration. We need a youth which has confidence in the masses, confidence in its own strength and in the inevitable victory."

Then came *Charles Krumbeln*, secretary of the Communist Party of the State of New York, and member of the national Committee of the Communist Party, who congratulated the speaker in the following terms:

"In listening to you, I have learned something about how to draw up and present a human report."

All this took place on the Friday. On that same Friday evening, a reception took place in honour of the delegates organised by the sections of the New York organisations of the League which, considering themselves to be the hosts of the Congress, had done everything possible to entertain the comrades who had come from all parts of the country.

On the following morning, Saturday, the Congress resumed, after songs sung by the delegates.

On Sunday noon a reception was given to the delegates by the Communist Party, which was also the occasion of a magnificent address by the Party leader, *William Z. Foster*.

In the course of the Congress, the delegates examined the statutes of the Young Communist League, article by article. Every now and again, a comrade would explain his proposals to insert this or that point. Line by line, this assembly of 600 young people, guided by a most genial chairman, proposed changes, modifications, amendments, new formulations. It was indeed an example of living democracy.

The Congress then proceeded to the election of the National Committee of the Young Communist League. This was done in the following manner. The presiding commission of the Congress submitted the full list of the members of the former National Council. Each delegation then had to consider the list, adding or cancelling names, substituting others, making fresh proposals, and then turning all this back to the commission. Then took place the explanations, objections, the examination of the record of each candidate, and this was so efficiently done that the entire national leadership was elected during the Congress, within each delegation. If no objection was raised by some delegation the question would be settled by the Congress as a whole.

When finally the chairman announced that the entire National Committee was elected, the Congress rose in an ovation.

Then came the final task of the Congress, the proposing and electing of the national leaders, *Gil Green*, *Henry Winston*, *Johnny Gates* and *Carl Ross*. They received tremendous applause, as did also a new name, that of *Josephine Sassano*. The hall was lit by the photographers' flashlights, and then came Gil Green's closing address.

The Congress concluded with a vigorous ovation. This Congress, this demonstration, has endowed the organisation with fresh life. In applauding their leaders, the delegates did not only acclaim those who were leading them, but also their own strength, their own powers, and their own destiny.

STALIN ON THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE SOVIET UNION

The foreign policy of the Soviet Union is clear and explicit:

1. We stand for peace and the strengthening of business relations with all countries. That is our position; and we shall adhere to this position as long as these countries maintain like relations with the Soviet Union, and as long as they make no attempt to trespass on the interests of our country.

2. We stand for peaceful, close and friendly relations with all the neighbouring countries which have common frontiers with the U.S.S.R. That is our position, and we shall adhere to this position so long as these countries maintain like relations with the Soviet Union, and so long as they make no attempt to trespass, directly or indirectly, on the integrity and inviolability of the frontiers of the Soviet State.

3. We stand for the support of nations which are the victims of aggression and are fighting for the independence of their country.

4. We are not afraid of the threats of aggressors, and are ready to deal two blows for every blow delivered by instigators of war who attempt to violate the Soviet borders.

Such is the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. (*Report to 18th Congress of C.P.S.U.*)

In the Country of Socialism

The Soviet Union's Naval Forces

By Maurice Perrault

THE Day of the Soviet Navy, fixed for the 24th July and which has been celebrated for the first time this year, drew the attention of the whole world to the magnificent results obtained by the U.S.S.R. in the sphere of its naval power.

The navy has an extremely important role in the defence system of the Soviet Union. Of 65,000 kilometres of frontiers, 48,000 are sea-board, and, at the first session of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. Molotov drew its attention to the capital importance of this question.

"We have to bear in mind that our country is large, that it is bordered, along immense distances, by seas, and that there is for us a constant warning, teaching us that our naval forces must be strong. We are reminded of it by the capitalist powers who have undertaken, in the last years, vast naval construction."

If the Soviet Union has acquired since then a considerable maritime power, as we shall see further on, the passionate interest that the Russian people have for all things connected with the sea is not of recent date. Bold navigators have long scoured the seas of the world, discovering, particularly, Spitzbergen, before Peter the Great built a powerful navy at the beginning of the 18th century. Russian sailors wrote, in the course of history, pages filled with heroism: the defeat of the Swedish fleet in 1714 at the Battle of Hango, the destruction of the sea-power of Turkey in 1770 at Cheshm, the heroic defence of Sebastopol in 1854-5, witness alike to their bravery and their value.

Even when in 1905, as a consequence of the total incompetence of the tsarist command, the Russian fleet suffered a crushing defeat at the battle of Tsushima in the course of the Russo-Japanese war, the sailors proved their exemplary courage, preferring to die rather than surrender. Later, crushing blows were dealt by the Russian navy to the German fleet, which was nevertheless superior, during the war of 1914-18.

But the navy played an often important role, which has made it famous in the history of the Russian people's liberation. From 1825 the sailors took a significant part in the rising of the Decembrists, and the idea of liberty remained from that time profoundly anchored in the fleet. The revolution of 1905, the mutiny on board the *Potemkin* and the *Ochakov*, the revolt of the Sebastopol sailors under Lieutenant Schmidt, show the firm support the popular liberation movement had in the fleet.

The revolutionary sailors took an active part and played an important role in the great Socialist revolution. They achieved miracles of heroism in the ardent struggle that the peoples of the U.S.S.R. conducted for their social liberation and their national independence. They repelled heroically the interventionist fleets attacking Kronstadt and overcame superior enemy forces in the Black Sea and in the Pacific; they constituted the most reliable shock unit of the Red Army and commanded intrepid detachments of partisans.

At the conclusion of the civil war, the Soviet people undertook the task of restoring its navy, so heavily tried in the imperialist war and the civil war; that was a vital necessity for a great sea power like the U.S.S.R.

A special decision was taken on this subject during the Xth Congress of the Bolshevik Party in 1921, declaring that "measures must be taken to restore and reinforce the Red Navy." The third Congress of the Soviets in 1925 also stressed the first positive results obtained in this important sphere. "But it is only in the course of the last few years that we have been able really to tackle the construction of the maritime fleet," Molotov said in 1938, at the first session of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. Indeed, the first two five year plans had transformed the Soviet Union into a formidable industrial power, which was

the fundamental condition for the construction of a navy "worthy of our interests, worthy of our great cause."

While tsarist Russia did not possess adequate naval docks, and most of the ships were built by foreign firms, the Soviet Union now possesses all the industries necessary for the construction and the equipment of the largest warships. People's Commissar for Naval Construction, Comrade Tevosyan, said recently:

"Armaments as complex as those of modern ships cannot be constructed except on the basis of a highly developed industry, when the country possesses powerful resources of iron and steel, electrical equipment, optico-mechanical, and other branches of industry. The victory of the two five-year plans provides us with these conditions. All branches of industry which produce the materials and the machines necessary for building battleships henceforth exist in our country."

In fact, the Soviet Union is now building all types of vessels that a modern fleet might envy, and that at an increasingly rapid pace. In 1938 the naval construction industry of the U.S.S.R. supplied the navy with five times as many ships as during the most productive year of the second five-year plan. In the first two winter months (January-February 1939) new battleships were delivered to the navy of the U.S.S.R. During these same months the production of the naval shipyards constituted by comparison with the two corresponding months of 1938, 133.7 per cent of the total production and 160 per cent for production destined for defence needs.

While the Soviet Union took sixth place for the volume of naval construction at the beginning of the third five-year plan, it will take, in 1942-43, one of the first places in the world for the number and tonnage of vessels built annually. And, as Comrade Tevosyan declared:

"Battleships and cruisers at present in construction in the Soviet shipyards, and which will be launched during the next years, will be, from the point of view of their armament, speed and organisation, not only the most powerful ships in the Soviet fleet, but even of the fleets of the world."

Admiral Kusnietsov, People's Commissar for the Navy, who at the age of 36 is the youngest admiral in the world, has, in a big speech delivered on July 24, given important information on the power of the Soviet fleet.

The U.S.S.R. to-day possesses four fleets and several flotillas; the Baltic Fleet, the Pacific Fleet, The Black Sea Fleet, and the Northern Fleet, and the flotillas of the Caspian Sea, the Amur and the Dnieper.

The Baltic Fleet is the one which has been the object of most attention on the part of the Soviet Government, and important successes have been achieved in the task of developing naval armaments in that region. Every year it is being strengthened with new ships and submarines; the most recent unit which has been added is the cruiser *Kirov*, a powerful floating fortress which is its fairest jewel. More than 50 warships took part in its last cruise, and those are, of course, by no means all that are at the Soviet Union's disposal.

The Black Sea Fleet began to develop later; its first units, like the *Chervona Ukraina*, entered service in 1926-7. To-day, however, part of these ships can be utilised as training-ships, being replaced by the desired number of modern ships.

The Pacific Fleet shows the development of the Soviet navy as a whole. The first warship did not appear in the Far East until five or six years ago. It was the first submarine. But to-day the number of submarines and warships in the Pacific Fleet has already passed a hundred, without counting the smaller units.

As for the Northern Fleet, it is growing at a pace perhaps

more rapid even than the Pacific Fleet; it is being transformed visibly into a great and mighty fleet.

"In recent times," declared Comrade **Kuznetsov**, "bourgeois scribblers have become interested in our naval forces, inventing all sorts of fables on the state of our fleet and seeking to lower its prestige to the profit of the war-mongers. The most absurd rumours are spread in particular about our submarines. I must declare here that the Soviet Union possesses a greater number of submarines than any other country in the world. Better still, we have more submarines than Germany and Japan together."

Let us emphasise, furthermore, that the formidable power of the Soviet navy does not escape the attention of fascist military circles, as is witnessed by the following extract from **Nauticus**, the annual publication of the high command of the German Navy:—

"The following undeniable fact must be registered: the Soviet Union possesses at the present time the most powerful submarine fleet in the world. Another incontestable fact: In three maritime regions to-day at the centre of international interest, in the Baltic and in the North Sea, as well as in the Mediterranean and in the Pacific Ocean, every strategic consideration must henceforth count with a factor hitherto neglected since the end of the world war: the modern and efficient battleships being built by the Soviet Union." But is the task ended?

"As you see," Kuznetsov declared, "what has been done is no trifle. But it would be incorrect to declare to-day that all the tasks, even the essential tasks, have been achieved. We still have to overcome a number of difficulties, but we possess everything necessary so that we need not have anxiety, and we are convinced that we shall overcome them. The guarantee is in the daily direction from the Central Committee of our Party, of Comrade Stalin personally and of our Government with Comrade Molotov at its head."

Let us conclude by emphasising the considerable part played by the Young Communist Leagues of the U.S.S.R. in the recon-

struction of the Red Fleet which has benefited by their special care since October 16th, 1922. At that date the Vth. Congress of the Y.C.L. passed this resolution, addressing to the sailors the following enthusiastic declaration:

"Comrades, Red Sailors, remember that the young workers and peasants of the U.S.S.R. and their vanguard, the Young Communists are preparing firm and staunch reinforcements for you. We shall not stint our efforts to reinforce the moral and material ties between the Red Navy and the Young Communists. We shall do all in our power to help you and to make easier your life at war. All members of the Young Communists must know that our League will not drop anchor in port even in times of peace."

Indeed the Young Communists have for years been sending numerous detachments, numbering some of the best of their members, to the Soviet fleet, and there is no lack of examples of ships whose crew are entirely or almost entirely composed of Komsomols, from the command to the plainest sailor.

To reinforce the cadres of the Red Navy, the C.C. of the Young Communists in 1922 sent more than 8,000 Young Communists to various training detachments of the Navy and to naval schools. Hundreds of them have become experienced navigators, commanders of vessels, pilots, military engineers, teachers at the naval schools. It is thus that the leading personalities of the Red Navy have developed, such as **Kuznetsov** himself, commander of the capital ship **Marat**; Captain **Belousov**, commander of the line vessel **October Revolution**; Captain **Ptikhov**, and so many others . . .!

More than once the Y.C.L. received compliments from the leaders of the Red Army, **Frunse** and **Voroshilov**, the leaders of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet Government for its glorious activity in the sphere of strengthening the power of the Soviet defensive forces. Their patronage of the navy reflects the love and solicitude of the whole of the Soviet people towards its heroic red navy, brave defender of the maritime frontiers of the great country of Socialism, the great force in the service of peace.

History of the C.P.S.U. (B)

Decisions of the Young Communist League of France for the Sale of 50,000 Copies

ONE comrade from the National Committee, or preferably from the Bureau of the League, will be put in special charge of this task of organising the sale and study of the History of the C.P.S.U.(B). He will set up a small commission for his assistance.

The first work of this national commission consists of seeing to it that the same thing is done in all regions and groups, and that teams for selling the History of the Party are set up in the branches.

At each meeting of the League Bureau, of the leading organs of the whole Federation, in all fields, there must be a check-up of the plan of work laid down.

The secretariat is charged with working out a complete plan of work and splitting up the objective of 50,000 copies among all the regions.

A permanent supplement to *l'Avant-Garde* (Vanguard) to be published, as has been announced, in three sections:

1. "I have read the History of the Bolshevik Party" (Questionnaire). 2. Questions and answers. 3. The History of the Bolshevik Party. 4. A table of honour for the best sellers of the book.

Organise a sales competition between the branches with various prizes, and in particular for the first prize a trip to the Soviet Union.

To organise before the end of the year, beginning from September, first a sales day for the History of the Bolshevik Party and then a sales week.

To publish each month in *Our Youth* a plan for the study of a chapter of the History of the Bolshevik Party.

To prepare to organise, in Paris, a series of conferences on each chapter of the book, in four or five different halls, these conferences to be extended to the whole Paris region.

To make sales easier, to organise a card for buying the book by instalments, with 12 weekly payments of 1 fr. 25 c. It will even be possible to have these cards numbered by the branch, with a prize for every 20 cards.

A Commission designed by the League and in each region will hold sessions in the course of which advice on reading will be given and the book will be autographed by leading personalities.

In September, the following questionnaire will be sent to all branches: How many copies of the History of the Party have you

How many of them have you sold to members of the Communist Youth? How many have been sold elsewhere? Have you organised a Conference on the History of the Party in your branch? Have you sold the History to young Socialists, to young people of no party and of different political opinions? A number of articles to be published in *l'Humanité* on the interest of the book for the youth.

A series of articles to be published in *l'Avant-Garde* on this theme: Why the young Socialist, the young peasant, the young trade unionist, the young student, the young worker, the apprentice, must read the History of the Bolshevik Party. To publish a leaflet which will be inserted into the books sold by the Book Centre, in which it will say: If there are any questions which seem difficult to you, write to the League.

Learn and Comprehend

The Tenth of August, 1792

By Paul Bouthonnier

ON August 10, 1792, occurred an event of major importance. The capture of the Tuileries palace marked a new stage in the development of the French Revolution.

On July 14, 1789, the bourgeoisie and the people of the town and country fought for the abolition of feudal privilege and the absolute monarchy. But since that period certain changes had taken place. The great financial, commercial and industrial bourgeoisie, once the bonds were broken which restricted its growth, came to fear the people and made approaches to the king and the aristocracy in order to put an end to the Revolution. This is why, on August 15, 1792, the petty bourgeoisie, workers and peasants, in order to consolidate and extend the gains already achieved, were led to fight against the monarchy and the upper bourgeoisie to secure the complete abolition of feudalism, and to establish Republican democracy.

It is true that the Constituent Assembly, after July 14, 1789, brought about great reforms. The suppression in principle of feudal rights, the Declaration of the Rights of man and citizen, the establishment of taxation of the fortune and revenue of everyone, the voting of a Constitution which placed the king under the control of a permanent elective assembly—all this constituted a real progressive achievement.

Nevertheless, the people were disappointed and restless. The poor saw themselves excluded from political life by the institution of a conditional suffrage which gave only to well-to-do or rich citizens the right to vote and eligibility to stand for election. The peasants complained of having to purchase from the feudal lords the tenure on which they held the land. They were opposed to the sale of the national resources in the form of large estates which favoured well-to-do purchasers. The artisans, small shopkeepers and workers complained of the speculation which lowered the value of the assignats (paper money issued by the Revolutionary government—Editor) and raised the prices of bread and of foodstuffs in general.

Added to this discontent was the fear that the king and his court, supported by émigrés and foreign princes, would destroy liberty and restore the former regime.

And, in fact, these apprehensions were well justified. On June 20, 1791, Louis XVI had attempted to take flight and had been exonerated by the Constituent Assembly. In the spring of 1792, he had succeeded in getting the legislative Assembly to declare war against Austria, in order to provoke foreign intervention from which he hoped to get assistance. The general commanding the armies, and in particular La Fayette, were negotiating with the enemy instead of fighting. This same La Fayette was plotting with a view to crushing the popular movement and to re-establish the émigrés in France, with their former privileges. The queen, Marie Antoinette, was the soul of the monarchist reaction and never ceased her intrigues with the Coblenz émigrés and with monarchs who were hostile to the Revolution.

The people were aware of all this. Men like Marat and Robespierre, devoted to the cause, continued to expose before the people the infamous conspiracy being hatched against the people and against France.

Therefore, from the very beginning of the war the treachery of Louis XVI and his entourage, and of the royalist generals and other officers, was evident to all. Our troops retreated. Paris was threatened.

The Girondins—who were in the majority in the legislative assembly and who were in the government at the time of the declaration of war (June 20, 1792) and stayed there until June 12, 1793—refused to dismiss La Fayette and to take, with regard to the king and queen and their confederates, those measures which were dictated by the supreme interests of the nation. And after Louis XVI dismissed their ministers they still intrigued and conspired secretly with him in the hope that he would recall them to power.

But the people were to make heard their supreme voice.

The Jacobins, with Robespierre at their head, organised resistance to oppression and to the danger from abroad.

The Parisian sections of the Jacobins were in permanent session from June 11, 1792, the date upon which the Assembly had declared that the country was in danger. Within a few days, 15,000 volunteers enrolled in Paris for the defence of the nation. From all provinces Fédérés were marching to Paris, summoned to take part in the celebration of July 14. They were arriving from Bordelais, Limousin, Normandy, Brittany, Franche-Comté. Those from Marseilles crossed France singing the song by Rouget de l'Isle to which they were to give the name of their city.

An attempt was made to segregate them in Soissons. But the majority of them, after having been enthusiastically welcomed by the people of Paris, installed themselves in the poorer quarters of the city and took part in the preparations for decisive action.

The arrogant manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick (July 28, 1792), who was in command of the armies of invasion, aroused the anger of the people. There was no longer any doubt existing of the collusion of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette with the foreigners. Did not the manifesto state that all National Guards taken bearing arms and all inhabitants who dared offer resistance would be treated as rebels to the king? And that if the king was subjected to further outrage Paris would be subjected to military executions and total subjugation?

Whereupon the Fédérés and the Parisian sections of the Jacobins demanded the dethronement of the king and the convocation of an Assembly elected by universal suffrage. But the legislative assembly to which they addressed a petition embodying these demands, delayed its answer. Pétion the Girondin mayor of Paris, continued to intrigue in order to prevent the people from intervening.

But nothing could break the unanimous will of the people. On August 9, when the Assembly, in spite of its assurances,

adjourned without a decision on the subject of the petition which had been presented to it, the sections decided that each would send three commissions to the Hotel de Ville (City Hall) with the exclusive power of giving orders. This was the signal for insurrection. During that night, the tocsin sounded for the Sans-Culottes and the Fédérés to assemble.

In the Tuileries the king and queen were greatly disturbed. Mandat de Grancey, commander-in-chief of the National Guard, and a royalist, prepared feverishly for the defence of the king and queen.

Mayor Pétion and Roederer, another Girondin and councillor of the Department of the Seine, were present with Louis XVI in order to advise him.

Towards five o'clock in the morning, Mandat de Grancey, summoned by the legal municipal body, arrived at the town hall. The commissaries of the sections had him arrested, dismissed him from his position and appointed in his place Santerre, one of the heroes of July 14, 1789, while being transferred to the Abbaye prison, de Grancey was shot.

This incident caused a violent conflict to arise between the commissaries and the legal councillors. The latter reproached

the section delegates with having exceeded their powers. The commissaries replied that they were mandated by the people in insurrection and that they would replace the municipality. Pétion, who now returned from the Tuileries, was sent under guard to the headquarters of the police.

Thus, in the early morning of August 10, the insurrectional Commune had become master of the town hall, and was directing and co-ordinating the action of the people.

At six o'clock, the workers of the Faubourg Saint Marceaux, with the men of Brest and the men of Marseilles arrived at the Carroussel. At their approach, the gendarmes withdrew, while the Fédérés and Sans-Culottes took up their position, while awaiting reinforcements from the Faubourg Saint Antoine and the Right Bank of the Seine.

Roederer, who was still with the king, intensified his persuasion that Louis XVI place himself under the protection of the Assembly. His idea was that, once the Gironde had the king in its hands, it could govern once again, and the insurrection would be stopped.

(To be continued.)

"The so-called democratic states, of course, do not approve of the 'excesses' of the fascist states and fear any accession of strength to the latter. But they fear even more the working-class movement in Europe and the movement of national emancipation in Asia, and regard fascism as an 'excellent antidote' to these 'dangerous' movements. For this reason the ruling circles of the 'democratic' states, especially the ruling Conservative circle of Great Britain, confine themselves to a policy of pleading with the overweening fascist rulers 'not to go to extremes,' at the same time giving them to understand that they 'fully comprehend' and, on the whole, sympathise with their reactionary police policy towards the working-class movement and the national emancipation movement. In this respect, the ruling circles of Britain are roughly pursuing the same policy as was pursued under tsardom by the Russian liberal-monarchist bourgeoisie, who, while fearing the 'excesses' of tsarist policy, feared the people even more, and therefore resorted to a policy of pleading with the tsar and, consequently, of *conspiring* with the tsar against the people. As we know, the liberal-monarchist bourgeoisie of Russia paid dearly for this dual policy. It may be presumed that history will exact retribution also from the ruling circles of Britain, and their friends in France and the U.S.A."

(History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, page 334).

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